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# COMMON SENSE OR GAITSKELL?

Since the summit failure Mr. Gaitskell has made several pleas for solid support for NATO in a desperate attempt to check the rising tide of unilateralism. At the same time Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall has published a new pamphlet which argues a case for "common sense." Geoffrey Carnall writes:

## Civil Defence again challenged

MR. MICHAEL BARCLAY, 33, a London civil engineer and member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, sued Hampstead Borough Council on Tuesday for the return of 2s. 2d., the proportion of his rates which is spent on Civil Defence

In Bloomsbury County Court Mr. Trustam Eve, for the Council, said that Mr. Barclay claimed that the Council had not discharged its duties under the 1948 Civil Defence Act and was not capable of discharging them. He further claimed that no protection could be provided because of the absence of any warning attack, the absence of any shelters capable of giving protection against such a threat and the absence of any protection for the population against radio-active fall-out.

If these issues were to be tried in court, Mr. Eve maintained investigation would be needed on what is an effective solution against fall-out and all the other points called into question.

## SHOULD CASE BE HEARD?

Mr. Eve submitted that the court had no jurisdiction to hear the matters alleged: "If the plaintiff is right, any ratepayer can raise these questions, the courts would go into them all the time, and if the courts found that the steps being taken were inappropriate and useless they could all get their pennies back."

He further submitted that the council has "no statutory duty to provide services for the defence of the civilian population of the Borough, but only duties to discharge those specific and separate functions conferred on them by statute or regulation."

IN his latest pamphlet, *Common Sense in Defence*\*, Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall renews his challenge to orthodox defence thinking.

He proposes Britain's withdrawal from NATO, whose prospects strike him as pretty dim anyhow, and the establishment of a Non-Nuclear Organisation, members of which should submit to UN disarmament inspection. Armed forces would be retained only to act in support of the civil power.

He also recommends the setting up of an International Rescue Organisation. It would be staffed by doctors, civil engineers, welfare workers, etc., and would be available to act quickly to go to the help of disaster-stricken communities like Agadir. It would be under the control of the Secretary-General of the UN, and might form the nucleus of a UN police force. Its presence and activity would do much to build up the sense of human interdependence.

He argues that this policy would

- do something positive to stop the spread of nuclear weapons;
- create a political force able to help negotiate a non-nuclear arrangement between the USA and the Soviet Union;
- put into practice the principle of international inspection of armaments;
- release perhaps a thousand million pounds a year for constructive purposes, especially for aid to under-developed countries. Our present rate of expenditure is insignificant in relation to the commonly-accepted importance of this kind of work.

Sir Stephen insists that we must in no way consider ourselves as living under the American nuclear "umbrella." At the expiration of, say, a year's notice all

misunderstanding—they cannot be recalled during their time of flight of 15-45 minutes."

The situation will be even worse when we get to the stage of having satellites permanently in orbit which could descend on a target at a moment's notice. He compares the controlled development of operations during the Suez adventure: threats, delays, bombing, invasion, phased withdrawal. "All these gradations of the use of violence are impossible in nuclear war. It is all or nothing."

On this particular question it may be worth mentioning a pamphlet recently published by the American Friends' Service Committee: *Danger has Alternatives*. It contains an article by David Singer which originally appeared in *The Nation*, pointing out what excellent reasons both the USA and Soviet Russia have for supposing that the other will launch a surprise attack. Like Sir Stephen King-Hall, Mr. Singer stresses that in present conditions the tradition of military secrecy is out of date, and advocates unilateral action by the West to share missile-monitoring information with the Warsaw Pact states. He also criticises civil defence on the ground that, if carried out on an effective scale, it would look like a move to protect industrial and military workers from retaliation after striking the first blow. "In a sense, unprotected civilians are a highly persuasive indication of peaceful intent, and each side may well regard the other's exposed population as a hostage to peace."

## Meeting enemy occupation

Mr. Singer, of course, is thinking primarily of the USA. Sir Stephen King-Hall thinks there is a case for civil defence in Britain, provided that it is made clear it is designed to deal with the effects of a nuclear war

These last were the views of Mr. Rawlinson, QC, who said that no investigation would be needed on what is an effective solution against fall-out and all the other points called into question.

## SHOULD CASE BE HEARD?

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Mr. Peter Rawlinson, QC (the Conservative MP for Epsom) argued on behalf of Mr. Barclay that there was a quasi-contractual relationship between Mr. Barclay and the Council which has asked for money for something which it is incapable of doing or of providing. As such it had "benefited unjustly" and the court could oblige them to repay. It was said by Mr. Barclay that the local authority could no more provide the service "than it can enter space research and propel its Town Clerk to the moon."

The hearing was adjourned until a date to be fixed—probably between May 30 and June 2.



Michael Barclay, the CND member who is continuing his legal action against his local borough council for the return of his Civil Defence rates.

● do something positive to stop the spread of nuclear weapons;

● create a political force able to help negotiate a non-nuclear arrangement between the USA and the Soviet Union;

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● release perhaps a thousand million pounds a year for constructive purposes, especially for aid to under-developed countries. Our present rate of expenditure is insignificant in relation to the commonly-accepted importance of this kind of work.

Sir Stephen insists that we must in no way consider ourselves as living under the American nuclear "umbrella." At the expiration of, say, a year's notice all American bases in Britain would have to be closed. At the same time, so far as political and economic aspects of the "cold war" were concerned, our position would be unchanged, except that we could make a much bigger contribution.

### 'Stop being a target'

Sir Stephen discounts fears that this will exasperate the Americans, and his view is certainly supported by recent unofficial reports of Pentagon thinking. According to Philip Deane of *The Observer* (April 17) an unnamed US General told him that Britain was too vulnerable to make it worth her while owning parts of the overall Western deterrent. As soon as missiles can be depended on, "it may be best for you to stop being a target, which is all you could ever be." Sir Stephen and the General are, of course, thinking along quite different lines. But the accidental coincidence of opinion shows that Britain has some room for manoeuvre.

Much of the pamphlet is concerned to show the danger and ineptness of our present defence policy. Nuclear power has introduced several major new factors into the military situation (he lists nine of them), but policy is still strongly affected by completely outdated considerations, by inappropriate conditioned reflexes. We keep on building bases, in Cyprus, Aden, and Kenya as industriously as a beaver building a dam in a drawing-room.

This may be mildly comic, but there is nothing comic at all about the dispersal of "tactical" atomic weapons, which means that any serious fighting would automatically work up to the use of H-bombs. Equally menacing is the retention of the traditional machinery of the threat of force, when technology is making the time within which the threats operate practically nil. This makes very likely the outbreak of war through the fear that the other side has just attacked, or is about to attack.

As Sir Stephen points out, "if rockets and guided missiles are once launched—perhaps due to a genuine

date, and advocates unilateral action by the West to share missile-monitoring information with the Warsaw Pact states. He also criticises civil defence on the ground that, if carried out on an effective scale, it would look like a move to protect industrial and military workers from retaliation *after* striking the first blow. "In a sense, unprotected civilians are a highly persuasive indication of peaceful intent, and each side may well regard the other's exposed population as a hostage to peace."

### Meeting enemy occupation

Mr. Singer, of course, is thinking primarily of the USA. Sir Stephen King-Hall thinks there is a case for civil defence in Britain, provided that it is made clear it is designed to deal with the effects of a nuclear war in which Britain was neutral. Civil defence in a Britain which was a target would be meaningless.

Part of civil defence should be training the whole nation in the best methods of dealing in a non-violent manner with a possible enemy occupation—"a positive assault on the minds of the occupying forces." Sir Stephen acknowledges that this would demand much more research than he has been able to undertake. He is convinced, however, that it is practicable. Did not the Russians find that they could not rely on their own troops in Hungary, where these troops had been too long in contact with the Hungarian people?

### Evolving a new policy

At the end of the pamphlet, Sir Stephen has a few paragraphs about how to get his policy adopted. While he favours vigils, marches, and other legal methods of creating a sympathetic public opinion, he does not approve of Direct Action. "To lie down outside a rocket base and obstruct the lawful movements of workers may be pretty harmless, but it is a slippery path whose ultimate end is terrorism." Sir Stephen does not sufficiently take into account here the essentially token character of the breach of law which Direct Action demonstrators commit, or the care always taken to keep the police informed of their intentions. The important thing is, as Gandhi used to insist, that all civil disobedience should be completely open.

One hopes that this pamphlet will be widely studied. Sir Stephen would be the last person to claim he had said the last word on the subject, and I suspect that the whole issue needs to be seen more in the perspective of what is happening in hitherto under-developed countries. Superior technology used to mean a clear military advantage. The advantage is not so clear now that military adventures entail the risk of race suicide, and the consequences of this peculiar development have only just begun to unfold themselves. The complex business of evolving a new defence policy demands the collective work of many kinds of people. The merit of this pamphlet is that it states, with great clarity, issues that must be taken into account in formulating any solution.

\*COMMON SENSE IN DEFENCE. By Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. K.H. Services, Ltd., 2s. 6d.

# Disarmament and the workers

**Jets and Jobs**, by Clive Jenkins, Union of Democratic Control. 6d.

LAST September, before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Khrushchev made the Western Powers an offer of complete disarmament over a period of four years.

This was an extremely important proposal in so far as it constituted an attempt to break the deadlock which has characterised the "partial disarmament measures"—the fear that the balance of military advantages could be substantially altered in the favour of other nations.

The Soviet Prime Minister's offer alone is sufficient to stimulate a more thorough analysis of the economic effects of disarmament, and the sort of economic programmes that must be adopted to avoid depression ensuing upon the dismantling of defence.

Clive Jenkins gives a further good reason for examining the whole question of the economic effects of disarmament afresh, arguing "it may well be that a certain amount of the apathy now being shown towards the question of disarmament rests upon the fear of the economic consequences." Political experience in both California and the South of England, where the modern defence industries are concentrated, suggests the truth of this argument.

It cannot be said, however, that Mr. Jenkins' analysis is reassuring on this matter. One good reason for the pessimistic outlook which emerges from his discussion is that an undue amount of attention is devoted to the impact of disarmament on the American economy.

This might be justified as a methodological procedure—though Mr. Jenkins does not attempt to do so—by saying that the economic dependence of Britain upon the fortunes of America is so great that guarantees of our own capabilities to meet the challenge of disarmament are worthless. This would be an over-statement (since policies could be enforced to modify this dependence), but it would contain a substantial amount of truth.

## Role of defence

Mr. Jenkins' analysis of the rôle of defence production in the United States turns on three major points:

1. Defence production plays a major rôle in maintaining high levels of employment

the optimism of the business sector and the contentedness of the consumer.

A "consumer rebellion" such as that which resisted the automobile model changes in 1958 could introduce a downturn in employment, which could rapidly lead to a severe recession if it is reinforced by the effects of an inventory cycle reflecting the pessimistic expectations of business men.

In these circumstances the adjustment of the level and the flow of defence spending offers itself as the chief economic stabiliser. Hence defence production can be used as an antidote to any specific threat of recession, whilst its very existence provides a continuous insurance against the occurrence of a depression. It should be said that Mr. Jenkins' estimate of the proportion of the gross national product requisitioned by the US armed forces exaggerates the force and nature of these arguments: his estimate is 23 per cent, but most writers would give a figure of less than half of this.

Despite the statistical over-statement, Mr. Jenkins leaves this "Keynesian" rôle of defence production largely unelucidated, either because he considers it self-evident, or because he thinks its importance should be subordinated to his second line of argument.

The datum for this second argument is the particular technology associated with

modern weapons production. It is not just a question of the complexity of this technology but of its specificity to defence requirements; in other words the thesis which Mr. Jenkins is advancing claims that the technological unemployment which would characterise the economic situation after disarmament is of a particularly obdurate kind.

The skills and the capital at present devoted to the production of advanced weapons systems are certainly *too great* to satisfy peacetime requirements, but it is not clear that they would all be completely *irrelevant* to those requirements. The impetus which the production of missiles has given to the electronics industry is already reflected in the increasing "electronics" revolution in industry. The problem of redundant skills, where it would exist, would have to be met by the implementation of re-training programmes, and government sponsorship of research and development on a larger scale than ever before.

## Role of government

The necessity for government intervention, both in promoting research and development and in organising increased welfare spending, is clear, but Mr. Jenkins would claim that its political possibility is in great doubt. The size of the required government intervention would be so vast as to entail a radical transformation of the state.

There is no reason to be optimistic on this score, but there are some important qualifications to be made to what Mr. Jenkins has to say. One of the most important of these is that a large number of the workers affected by disarmament would

in fact be middle class—a fact of great political importance.

Secondly, one of the more dubious benefits of the Cold War has been the accumulation of "welfare" projects of a kind which is politically innocuous (the expansion of education, road building *et al.* does not have the political implications of state intervention in industry.)

Thirdly, there are projects which could only be financed by the state, but which would be more than acceptable to the large corporations; space research falls within this category. Although the benefits of space research are doubtful, it would be a cheap price to pay for economic stability.

What of the impact of disarmament on the British economy? Here the picture is much brighter. Defence spending has not assumed the rôle, in Britain as it has in the USA, of maintaining employment and living standards.

At the same time there is a tradition, and to a certain extent an apparatus, of planning which can be expected to deal efficiently with the threat of dislocations consequent upon disarmament. There is a large public sector which can be enlarged and the Government has already shown itself alive to the necessity of promoting research and development. At the moment the planning apparatus for dealing with local unemployment may not appear to be very efficient, but adequate powers exist to be exploited.

Mr. Jenkins has done a useful job in drawing attention to the economic implications of disarmament, and if his conclusions are not very optimistic, this is itself an index of the neglect which this important subject has received from official quarters.

# THE TWO AFRICAN CONGRESSES

I WAS greatly shocked to read of the interview with Mr. Molotsi of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PN, May 13).

Mr. Gene Sharp, the interviewer, "spent some weeks talking to African leaders" who had gathered in Ghana from all over the continent. But he avoided apparently Mr. Tennyson Makiwane, well known representative of the African National Congress, and also seems to have avoided talking to Mr. L. S. Sorkin, leader of the Pan-

violent demonstrations against passes, and all had been arrested and prosecuted.

The South African Minister of Justice, explaining in Parliament on March 31, 1960, why a special Act had to be passed to outlaw the ANC and PAC, said that the Government could not make use of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 because none of these organisations could be said to be communistic (Assembly Debates, March 31, 1960). He

apparently the writer who interviewed me had certain preconceived ideas about the ANC. These he erroneously attributed to me. Admittedly we had differences of approach to the solution of our problems. These, however, could hardly be described as "conservatism," "inaction" or "Communist influences."

I, therefore, categorically deny having used any of these words in relation to the ANC. To the best of my knowledge, the

logical procedure—though Mr. Jenkins does not attempt to do so—by saying that the economic dependence of Britain upon the fortunes of America is so great that guarantees of our own capabilities to meet the challenge of disarmament are worthless. This would be an over-statement (since policies could be enforced to modify this dependence), but it would contain a substantial amount of truth.

### Role of defence

Mr. Jenkins' analysis of the rôle of defence production in the United States turns on three major points:

1. Defence production plays a major rôle in maintaining high levels of employment.

2. Technology of modern weapons makes for certain crucial problems in over-capacity and unemployment in the context of disarmament.

3. The possibilities of adopting suitable economic programmes are politically restricted in a most disturbing manner.

There is no doubt at all that defence production has played a key rôle, in the United States, in maintaining full employment and high standards of living since the end of World War II. It has, indeed, been explicitly recognised in this rôle by prominent American economists (not necessarily "capitalist" economists), and for very special reasons.

The battery of economic controls the authorities have to hand to control the economic situation within the United States is extremely small. Moreover, certain of the most powerful economic weapons are effectively paralysed by political factors: adjustments of the tax system, injections of welfare spending, the re-adjustment of state investment are all inhibited by political considerations. As a consequence the stability of the economy tends to rest upon

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Mr. Gene Sharp, the interviewer, "spent some weeks talking to African leaders" who had gathered in Ghana from all over the continent. But he avoided apparently Mr. Tennyson Makiwane, well known representative of the African National Congress, and also seems to have avoided talking to me, even though I spent a week in Ghana, having arrived two days before Mr. Molotsi.

The facts do not support Mr. Sharp's assertion that the one organisation seized the initiative from the other. Both the ANC and the PAC have so far sought world support, not each for its own self, but for the opponents of apartheid and racialism. If Mr. Sharp in any degree succeeds in his appeal for world support for the PAC as against the ANC, he will be remembered for having divided a united world opinion much to the detriment of the victims of Verwoerdism in South Africa.

In the course of stating what the PAC stands for, Mr. Molotsi evidently gave reasons for the PAC's breaking away from the ANC. The report states:

"Conservatism and inaction in the ANC were not the only grounds for the decision to establish the PAC. The Communist influences in the ANC made it impossible to work longer in that body."

This is the first time since the late forties that I have heard anyone refer to the ANC as "conservative and inactive." Its numerous campaigns dating back to 1950 are too well known to necessitate mention. In fact, in 1956 virtually all its top members were arrested on a charge of treason based on its activities over a period of years; and even as the treason trial was proceeding in 1957, 1958 and 1959, major campaigns were launched.

From time to time the leaders of the ANC have been banned, deported and prosecuted in large numbers for political offences; and in 1958 it was proclaimed an unlawful organisation in some country districts in the Transvaal. When the PAC broke away in 1958, it was after thousands of women had been staging peaceful non-

violent demonstrations against passes, and all had been arrested and prosecuted.

Apparently the writer who interviewed me had certain preconceived ideas about the ANC. These he erroneously attributed to me. Admittedly we had differences of approach to the solution of our problems. These, however, could hardly be described as "conservatism," "inaction" or "Communist influences."

I, therefore, categorically deny having used any of these words in relation to the ANC. To the best of my knowledge the South African Government, which labels all opponents of its policies "Communists," has been trying without success in the courts of law for the last four years to prove that ANC is under "Communist influence."

Read in this context my statement: "We are concerned with the liberation of Africa—not with power politics" bears a different meaning. It gives the impression of a reflection on the ANC's rôle in "power politics." This was in no manner intended and it would be both wrong and unfortunate to understand the statement in that light.

Since the events at Sharpeville, both the PAC and the ANC leaders who have left South Africa have come together, sunk their differences, and are approaching the outside world as a united front to inform on the happenings in South Africa, to mobilise world opinion against the Verwoerd dictatorship, and to work for the freedom of the people of South Africa.—**PETER MOLOTSI**, Member of the National Executive Committee, Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, 31a John Adam St., London, W.C.2.

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By Sybil Morrison

## ' . . . WORSE CONFOUNDED '

If there really should be trouble over Berlin, conventional forces will be far more useful than H-bombs which cannot be used and a deterrent which does not deter.—*The Observer*, May 22, 1960.

# THIS WAS THE SUMMIT

## Two reports, same day!

FOR their part, they (the three Western leaders) remain unshaken in their conviction that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the use or threat of force but by peaceful means through negotiation. —*Western statement, Paris, May 17.*

The Pentagon now says that the mysterious combat readiness alert that went out to all American forces throughout the world on Sunday night (May 15) was ordered by Mr. Gates, the Secretary of Defence, who is in Paris with Mr. Eisenhower and who, presumably, had the President's approval. . . . The reason for the exercise is still not clear, but officials believe there were several reasons, among them . . . to make a show of readiness and strength for the benefit of Mr. Khrushchev.—*The Times' Washington correspondent, May 17.*

## Death pays a dividend

NEW YORK, May 18.—Shares of electronics, missiles, and aircraft firms gained several dollars again today in expectation of higher defence spending after the Summit collapse.—*News Chronicle*.

## Back to the Cold War

WASHINGTON.—Demands for increased defence spending are being made—and they will certainly be met. . . . If he (Khrushchev) thinks he can take up the Summit in six or eight months he is sadly ignorant of America. There will be no more Summity for America for a long time.—*Bruce Rothwell, News Chronicle, May 19.*

## A liberal query

Both Krushchev and Eisenhower have now formally proclaimed things that in any rational society would have, unequivocally,

meant war. There can be no meaning in words like these—or so one prays—unless each side is somehow conscious that the other does not mean what it says, and that both the East and the West are debasing the currency of language as they have both debased that of international usage. But if so, what are the world's leaders now going to employ as means of expression? What are they going to use for words? And when they run out of words—what then? —*James Cameron, News Chronicle, May 17.*

## A conservative explanation

. . . It seems far more likely that the object of recent Kremlin policy has been so to disarm, confuse, and divide the West that its public opinion, if not its statesmen, would be in no position to resist the kind of apocalyptic pressures which the Kremlin can now deploy. It is too early yet to say that Mr. Khrushchev has not calculated correctly. Memories of Aldermaston marchers do not encourage total confidence. —*Daily Telegraph, May 19.*

## A noble observation

I think a spy is a valuable, though unrecognised, public servant. He should be praised for helping to avoid surprise and even to prevent wars for his personal courage. Traditionally he went on foot, then on a horse, then in a motor car, and now in an aeroplane. Why all this fuss about one of the oldest and most useful professions in the world?—*Lord Fraser of Lonsdale, CH, letter to The Times, May 20.*

## A neutral approach

Should the West play the game of brinkmanship in defence of West Berlin? It is likely that the Russians will think we are bluffing and will call our bluff. If we show that it was only bluff, Russia will proceed to a series of fresh demands. Ultimately we must either resist or submit completely. . . . It is open to neutral Powers to propose a way out of this impasse.—*Earl Bertrand Russell, OM, FRS, in a letter to The Times, May 19.*

## TAX REFUSERS

THE subject of tax refusal has once more come to the fore as one possible form of direct action against war and



## The Establishment pronounces

The situation has to be lived with. How will it be most wisely faced? Certainly not by closing our eyes—and our minds—to any possibility. The penalties are too

The blame will rest with Mr. Khushchev.—*The Times, May 17.*

## The future

After the Summit breakdown, Pentagon generals are now coming into the open with the view that the West can fight and win an all-out nuclear war. . . . This is a remarkable reversal of the traditional philosophy which so far has—at least publicly—guided the United States defence policy, that "if war breaks out, the mission has failed."—*News Chronicle Washington report, May 19.*

There can be no doubt that these last disastrous days in Paris will go down in history as the beginning of a new war of nerves.—*K. S. Karol, New Statesman, May 21.*

## Apartheid in New Zealand

From A. C. BARRINGTON

WHEN the New Zealand all-white rugby team left by plane for their South African tour recently there was no crowd to bid them farewell at Wellington airport—not a cheer, not a wave.

On the tarmac there were only photographers and policemen. Policemen, in fact, were everywhere, guarding all the entrances inside and outside the aerodrome. They expected a demonstration by opponents of the tour.

Departure time was, however, at 11 a.m. on a working day, and I saw only a few wearing black armbands, among them a young Anglican curate. Police prevented them from getting near the plane. After the take-off at least seven car-loads of police drove off.

## THE END

So presumably ends a long agitation to prevent a New Zealand rugby team from going to South Africa after the decision to exclude Maoris from selections, on the grounds that it would save Maoris the

mis-use of words is beginning to assume the proportions of a minor, if not a major, problem. The word "deterrent," for instance, is widely accepted as meaning a particular weapon, and it has already been stated by the Prime Minister that if it should ever be used it would have failed to deter, as though the remark were a profound saying rather than a self-evident fact.

In last week's issue of Peace News Bruce Odspur declaimed against the use of the word "pacifism" to designate a number of different alternatives such as opposition to British nuclear weapons, or to all nuclear weapons, as well as advocacy of total unilateral disarmament, and because of this mis-use of the word he suggested that pacifists should give up calling themselves pacifists.

For my part I cannot see why, if journalists and others are guilty of misusing the word, usually, it is true, in a sneering and disparaging way, it should be advanced as a good reason for abandoning the word.



Most people find a collective word necessary, and certainly useful, to describe a religious belief, a political belief, or an ideological belief to which they adhere, and in this instance it is surely more important for pacifists to clear the word pacifism of misunderstandings and misinterpretations than to just feebly discard it.

It is frequently argued that there is no such thing as "absolute truth," but those who are convinced of this do not suggest that the word "truth" be abandoned; most people, after all, have a rough idea what it means!

The word "pacifism" is at present being used in a derogatory sense by those who do not like the idea of nuclear disarmament, and this mis-use has led Canon Collins to rush to the rescue of the Campaign for

time.—Bruce Rothwell, *News Chronicle*, May 19.

## A liberal query

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## TAX REFUSERS

THE subject of tax refusal has once more come to the fore as one possible form of direct action against war and non-co-operation with war preparation. This is not the place to discuss either the principle or the method of tax refusal, but there has been one informal conference about it, and the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union will be discussing the subject at its session on Sunday, June 12.

The other side of the problem of how to avoid helping to pay for war preparation is how to assist in paying for the preparation of peace, and that is my concern in this appeal.

Whatever may be your views about the desirability or possibility of withholding any part of income tax in protest against war preparation, I am sure you will agree about the need of providing enough money for pacifist activities. This you can do without further discussion or more ado if you want to. It might be some help if we all spared a minute to think about the amount we are giving to positive peacemaking compared with our other expenditure, voluntary or otherwise.

Please do this, and I am sure that the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund would benefit considerably if, having worked out what you should spend on peace-making, you would let it share in the result.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.  
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Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



Should the West play the game of brinkmanship in defence of West Berlin? It is likely that the Russians will think we are bluffing and will call our bluff. If we show that it was only bluff, Russia will proceed to a series of fresh demands. Ultimately we must either resist or submit completely. . . . It is open to neutral Powers to propose a way out of this impasse.—Earl Bertrand Russell, OM, FRS, in a letter to *The Times*, May 19.

### The Establishment pronounces

The situation has to be lived with. How will it be most wisely faced? Certainly not by closing our eyes—and our minds—to any possibility. The penalties are too high to rule anything, no matter how terrible, out of calculation. (That is where the unilateral nuclear disarmers go wrong.)—*The Times*, May 19.

### The socialist answer

One conclusion, however, we can draw already from this tragic episode—that we need more than ever a greater unity in NATO.—Mr. Gaitskell, at Brighton, May 18.

### The Top Brass solution

There has been a change. More missiles would certainly be additional insurance. I have seen evidence in Paris recently that irrationality could enter into the plans of a nation.—General White, US Air Force Chief of Staff, May 19.

### Inside information

Having worked for the Security Council at the United Nations in New York for nearly three and a half years, I have had some experience of Russian aims and technique, and I am convinced that so far as the Soviets are concerned a summit conference has only one object—to provide a most valuable world platform for Communist propaganda.—Air Marshal Sir Gerald Gibbs, in a letter to *The Times*, May 23.

### Expense account for four

The stillborn Summit talks cost about £434,000, French officials said in Paris.—*News Chronicle*, May 19.

### Business as usual

Now it is up to Eisenhower—*Daily Worker* headline, May 17.

fact, were everywhere, guarding all the entrances inside and outside the aerodrome. They expected a demonstration by opponents of the tour.

Departure time was, however, at 11 a.m. on a working day, and I saw only a few wearing black armbands, among them a young Anglican curate. Police prevented them from getting near the plane. After the take-off at least seven car-loads of police drove off.

## THE END

So presumably ends a long agitation to prevent a New Zealand rugby team from going to South Africa after the decision to exclude Maoris from selections, on the grounds that it would save Maoris the embarrassment of segregation in South Africa if they went. In effect it has introduced apartheid into New Zealand sport for the first time and has encouraged the White racists of South Africa.

The churches have been united in strong opposition to the tour. The opposition was highlighted by a public statement by the Rev. Keith Elliot, VC, a former rugby player, who stated that as the tour had not been cancelled he could no longer wear his VC or give addresses on Anzac day, as the things for which Maori and Pakeha (the Maori term for the White man) had fought together were being betrayed.

### Foreign Office refusal

THE British Foreign Office has refused to do anything for the seven supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament who were deported from France.

The marchers were taking a message from Aldermaston to the "Summit" conference in Paris and had planned simply to carry banners and distribute leaflets.

"The French authorities were within their rights in objecting to their activities," the Foreign Office stated recently.

## HE'S BACK!

The Union (of South Africa) Government remains convinced that its solution of the racial problem is more human and a more ethical and lasting one than those of its critics.—Dr. Verwoerd, May 18, in his first official pronouncement since the attempt on his life.

Most people find a collective word like *society*, and certainly useful, to describe a religious belief, a political belief, or an ideological belief to which they adhere, and in this instance it is surely more important for pacifists to clear the word *pacifism* of misunderstandings and misinterpretations than to just feebly discard it.

It is frequently argued that there is no such thing as "absolute truth," but those who are convinced of this do not suggest that the word "truth" be abandoned; most people, after all, have a rough idea what it means!

The word "pacifism" is at present being used in a derogatory sense by those who do not like the idea of nuclear disarmament, and this mis-use has led Canon Collins to rush to the rescue of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in case support for the campaign might be affected through such a misunderstanding. It is all the more important that pacifists should remain unmoved by the fears of others and make their own position clear on all occasions.

It is possible that Mr. Gaitskell is using the word to frighten his followers by implying that there are people demanding total unilateral disarmament which would leave Britain completely undefended; he does, however, seem to differentiate between "unilateralist" and "neutralist" even when apparently lumping them all together. I should be surprised if he does not in fact know what the generally accepted meaning of "pacifism" is, but likes to cause confusion in the public mind.



It is significant that the quotation marks round the word "conventional" when referring to weapons have been dropped; the word in that context has become part of our vocabulary, and everyone knows that it means tanks and high explosives, bombing planes and obliteration bombing; every means, in fact, of mass destruction short of involving the whole human race in total annihilation.

*The Observer* writes coolly of using these means if there should be "trouble over Berlin"; it is to be hoped that the Great Powers will have a little more sense than to imagine that if a "conventional" conflict took place over Berlin nuclear weapons would never be used. Whatever else may be confused in words and deeds, there should be no confusion over the simple fact that even if nuclear weapons were discarded today, war could still take place, and nuclear weapons could still be manufactured and used.

Confusion on these issues will only be worse confounded if pacifists stand aloof in superior namelessness; the difficulty will scarcely now be solved in that way, but only by patient explanation and persistent example.

## Summit inquest

**I**N spite of the sympathy due to President Eisenhower for his positively humiliating experience of last week, the fault for what has happened lies in the first place with Mr. Herter, and in the second with the President himself.

Mr. Khrushchev's behaviour in Paris has been described as outrageous, but the first outrage was committed by Mr. Herter. The original American statement that the U-2 pilot had no doubt lost his way, and might even have been unconscious in a black-out when he penetrated into Soviet territory, was simply the automatic lie always put forward on such occasions. As such it lay well within international practice. But when Mr. Herter, after the conventional lie had been exposed, brazenly stated that spy flights would be continued as part of American policy until the Russians agreed to control over armaments production, he defied international law and also did something more outrageous to Mr. Khrushchev personally than the worst inflicted by Mr. Khrushchev on President Eisenhower in Paris.

Even if Mr. Khrushchev had been de-bolshevised, de-temporalised and de-vitalised into a striped-trouser dummy of endlessly patient diplomacy, he could not have been expected, as long as he remained the representative of 200 million Russian people, to walk into general summit talks without first clearing the arrogant aggressiveness of the Herter declaration out of the way. And it is at this point that President Eisenhower's own share of the fault begins.

## The spy incident

**T**HE President was incomprehensively foolish in wanting to hold back his statement that the flights had been stopped until he met Mr. Khrushchev in Paris and in declining to tender the apology offered to Cuba quite recently in somewhat similar circumstances.

Such an apology, made without much fuss through the ordinary diplomatic channel before the various heads of state set out for Paris, would have made Mr. Khrushchev's crude attack on the United States impossible. Apologies may, unfortunately, not be tendered as readily between states as they are between individuals of decent breeding and manners, but a deliberate air penetration by more than 1,000 miles into a potential enemy's territory was a clearly exceptional case—in this instance aggravated by its nearness in time to a conference intended to lead to better relations.

It is beside the point to say that espionage is universal. The ordinary spy commits an offence against the laws of the country in which he operates but not an initial act of aggression in entering it, and if he is discovered, his country does not brazenly announce that others will be sent to continue his work. In the present state of air law

## COMMENTARY

By

Roy Sherwood

the kind of instruments carried in the U2 had been shot down in any Western country.

The Soviet complaint to the Security Council is not likely to mean the end of the U2 affair. It is reasonable to expect that the issue will eventually come before the General Assembly, either at a special session or at the next regular one, opening in mid-September. According to present reports the Americans are likely to use the occasion to reiterate their "Open-Sky" proposal. Nothing seems less probable than Soviet acceptance of anything of the kind, particularly after what has just happened.

## The Great Deterrent

**T**HE gravest consequence, to my mind, of the abject summit conference failure lies in the not-so-long run in the inevitable increase in popular confidence in the Great Deterrent. I have not seen this pointed out in print anywhere, which is not surprising since it is not likely that attention will be called to it outside of pacifist circles. But it is reasonably certain that it will happen because, if atomic and hydrogen bombs and guided nuclear missiles were not now in existence and full launching readiness, we should today be at war. Either Mr. Herter's declaration or Mr. Khrushchev's words in Paris would have marked the break-off of diplomatic relations, followed by immediate mobilisation and the beginning of hostilities.

And since the general public tends to form its opinions on oversimplified evidence, the fact that we may still hope for East-West relaxation will be attributed to the war-preventing efficacy of the horror weapons. But it needs no great foresight to realise that a constant trigger-ready world condition cannot go on for ever. The day must come when the Great Deterrent fails to deter; or when, with an initial willingness to avoid its use, we shall find ourselves in the third world war which may, or may not, end without one side or the other having recourse to it in spite of earlier abstention.

## Changing Communism

**H**Ighly intelligent and strictly logical in reasoning though he was, Karl Marx went completely wrong in his prophecy that the rich would grow richer and richer and the poor poorer and poorer, and that there would be a world-wide revolution against capitalism. His mis-

by steadily growing pressures which have shorn it, bit by bit, of its original brutality and power of sheer exploitation—so that today it is not resented by a sufficient number of people in the West to justify Communist hopes for world revolution.

The question forced by present conditions into thinking minds is whether the West is not making the corresponding mistake about Communists. Is it right to take it for granted that they will always remain oppressors of individual thought and freedom, persecutors of anything showing the least tolerance and liberalism?

The answer may be Yes but it is not certain. The Soviet régime is already far different from what it was in Stalin's days, and so different from that of China—which is in an earlier stage of Communism than Russia—that not a great deal of encouragement by the West would seem to be needed to turn Moscow into a mediator between the West and formidably growing China. It seems at least possible that Communism may follow the course of capitalism: of losing its ferocity as it grows older. To assume otherwise seems to me to deny the facts of human nature.

## Gaining time

**T**HERE is a distinct resemblance between the dwindling popularity, as again shown in the recent provincial elections, of the British Labour Party and the decrease in public interest in pacifism.

As more and more people among the manual workers become house owners and possessors of television sets, washing machines, cars, good clothing and other things which in former days were beyond their reach, many of them develop the mental attitude that says "Let us stay as we are." Better off materially than the former so-called middle class, they no longer pant for radical changes. All they are left with is a desire for rising wages obtainable through trade union efforts or, if necessary, through strikes, sometimes unofficial. And as rising rates, largely due to better social services, are imposed by local councils, and a steadily growing number of manual workers are now also direct ratepayers, because they are house owners, a Labour-dominated local authority is no longer a dispenser of bounty to them but a body of men standing for higher rate demands.

The corresponding fact in pacifism is that the idea of nuclear and even of total disarmament is gaining the support of an ever growing number of people not sufficiently aware of the full range of questions to be settled if world peace is to come, to pursue the problem to its logical solution. That, too, in the case of the Labour Party as well as that of pacifism, is simply the human nature effect of a reasonable measure of success—to be regretted but inevitable. It should not be treated as a reason for discouragement. It is a milestone on the road to success in the wider sense. What has been achieved so far, it is true, is only a gain of time—and that has been brought about mainly by physical fear. But this gain of time is all-important. It means the opportunity of patient progress towards general understanding of the true nature of our time's problems and the

Such an apology, made without much fuss through the ordinary diplomatic channel before the various heads of state set out for Paris, would have made Mr. Khrushchev's crude attack on the United States impossible. Apologies may, unfortunately, not be tendered as readily between states as they are between individuals of decent breeding and manners, but a deliberate air penetration by more than 1,000 miles into a potential enemy's territory was a clearly exceptional case—in this instance aggravated by its nearness in time to a conference intended to lead to better relations.

It is beside the point to say that espionage is universal. The ordinary spy commits an offence against the laws of the country in which he operates but not an initial act of aggression in entering it; and if he is discovered, his country does not brazenly announce that others will be sent to continue his work. In the present state of air law the whole of the air space above a nation's territory at least up to the height at which planes can fly comes within that nation's sovereignty. There can therefore be no scrap of doubt that the U2 pilot was committing an act of plain aggression, and there can be no doubt either about the fierce outcry there would have been in the whole of the West if a Soviet plane fully equipped with

oversimplified evidence, the fact that we may still hope for East-West relaxation will be attributed to the war-preventing efficacy of the horror weapons. But it needs no great foresight to realise that a constant trigger-ready world condition cannot go on for ever. The day must come when the Great Deterrent fails to deter; or when, with an initial willingness to avoid its use, we shall find ourselves in the third world war which may, or may not, end without one side or the other having recourse to it in spite of earlier abstention.

## Changing Communism

HIGHLY intelligent and strictly logical in reasoning though he was, Karl Marx went completely wrong in his prophecy that the rich would grow richer and richer and the poor poorer and poorer, and that there would be a world-wide revolution against capitalism. His mistake was to blind himself to the fact that capitalism would change, that it would, however reluctantly, adapt itself to changing conditions. If it had not adapted itself, Marx's prophecy would have come true. His error lay in disregarding human factors which are irresistible in the long run. Capitalism has not undergone a sudden miraculous conversion to virtue. It has been modified

authority is no longer a dispenser of bounty to them but a body of men standing for higher rate demands.

The corresponding fact in pacifism is that the idea of nuclear and even of total disarmament is gaining the support of an ever growing number of people not sufficiently aware of the full range of questions to be settled if world peace is to come, to pursue the problem to its logical solution. That, too, in the case of the Labour Party as well as that of pacifism, is simply the human nature effect of a reasonable measure of success—to be regretted but inevitable. It should not be treated as a reason for discouragement. It is a milestone on the road to success in the wider sense. What has been achieved so far, it is true, is only a gain of time—and that has been brought about mainly by physical fear. But this gain of time is all-important. It means the opportunity of patient progress towards general understanding of the true nature of our time's problems and the gradual repudiation of all endeavours to enforce one party's will on another in the affairs of individuals, of groups of individuals, or of nations. And when this stage has been reached—if it is ever reached—organised pacifism will no longer be necessary and *Peace News* can cease publication. Truth compels me to add that this seems a long way off.

## Money talks in South Africa

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER, South Africa's number one industrialist, has called on the Nationalist Government to "inquire into the grievances of the Black majority" in seeking a permanent racial peace.

In a statement to shareholders of the De Beers Consolidated Mines, he referred to the country's State of Emergency and said: "Obviously disturbances on such a wide scale must be symptomatic of a profound sense of grievance among sections of the African population."

An Associated Press report from Johannesburg on May 18 said that Mr. Oppenheimer "has thus joined a growing list of leading businessmen who have urged the Government to do something further to improve the lot of the Africans."

## South African barometer

FIGURES released last Friday morning by the Johannesburg Stock Exchange Committee indicated that South Africa's State of Emergency has reduced share values over £600,000,000.

The figures showed that between December 31 and March 31 the total market value of all ordinary shares listed on the Ex-

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

change fell £516,000,000—and the plunge continues.

The President of the Stock Exchange, Mr. A. J. F. Ferguson, said that uncertainties of the present situation were slowly destroying confidence. "Unless immediate and positive steps are taken to restore this confidence," he added, "the economic effects of the recent events must soon be felt by everybody in the country... South Africans, whatever their private political opinions may be, must realise that if prevailing policies continue irreparable damage could be done to the Union's economy."

## No free press

THE International Press Institute on Sunday deplored the action taken against newspapermen in South Africa, Cuba and France.

On South Africa the Institute said that because of the emergency regulations newspapers find themselves unable to give their readers an accurate picture of what is happening or to comment freely on events.

Newspapermen in the Union are now working in constant danger of summary arrest; some have fled the country or gone

into hiding, and at least five others are in jail.

## Operational H-bomb

AN Atlas missile was fired 9,000 miles last Friday from Cape Canaveral, Florida, to south-east of Cape Town.

The Atlas "is now operational in the Strategic Air Command," added a statement from Cape Canaveral.

## Nehru catching up

THE Indian National Defence College was inaugurated in New Delhi on April 27 by Prime Minister Nehru.

According to an *India News* report of April 30, it has been patterned on the British Imperial Defence College and will give combined training to senior armed forces and civil service officers in dealing with the wider problem relating to the country's security.

## Improvements still to come

MISSILE and rocket production could be revolutionised by the discovery of a new field of chemistry, it was announced last Friday.

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## CND and the summit

**H**OW much longer till the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament recognises that it has been trying to force together into the (correctly) straight and narrow frame of its policy two incompatible bed-fellows—unilateral action and bilateral agreement?

The answer to this is the answer to another question: why were the politicians themselves so willing and eager for the Summit? In acceding to the demand for negotiations they took matters securely back into their own hands, thrusting back to arm's length the embarrassing pressure of absolute and unconditional demands.

The more crashing the failure of the summit, the better for each government, for here, they claim, is proof of the impossibility of achieving, despite "heroic" efforts, the disarmament which the people want. The majority of people fall for this, accept that their simple basic human demands are "unrealistic" and resign themselves once more to the rigours and waste of cold war and armaments.

We of CND have co-operated with these governments and politicians in building up public expectations of the Summit. With the help of our misguided efforts the healthy and fundamentally sound cynicism with which the peoples of the world naturally view the foings and froings of these men of power has been undermined. Had we left their mistrust undiluted they would not now be turning to rally behind the political leaders with a closing of ranks in the old hardened cold war alignments.

Let us now add "I" and "U" to the initials of CND: International Campaign for Unconditional Nuclear Disarmament—universal by way of unilateral by each. That is the essence and only strength of our demand and our movement.—**GERALD PETCH, 22 Lanchester Rd., London, N.6.**

## Repugnant films

**A** PARTICULARLY lethal, repugnant short film is currently being shown in cinema programmes—in the so-called "Look at Life" series. (Reviewed, PN, March 18.)

When we went to see "Our Man in Havana" recently we found ourselves unexpectedly exposed to a eulogy on Thor missiles and H-bombers.

Campaigners for nuclear disarmament should not, we think, just sit through such

films without comment. We should like to suggest that, rather than just calling out "Shame!" etc., from their seats, they should stand up at a suitable moment during or just after the film (perhaps during the interval if there is one) and make a brief statement about the wickedness and folly of nuclear war preparations.

We do not think it would be wise or necessary to make a long speech or to continue talking until removed by officials from the cinema. Brief statements of this sort in cinemas would reach vast audiences of the "unconverted," who would probably be set thinking by the unusualness of the occurrence.

We also strongly recommend that letters of protest about these films should be sent to the producers, J. Arthur Rank, Ltd., and to the companies owning the picture houses where they are shown.—**APRIL CARTER, PAT ARROWSMITH, 238 Fulham Road, London, S.W.10.**

## 'Defence' and employment

I READ with some interest the correspondence in Peace News about the merits of the Labour Party and their efforts in Parliament to bring an end to war. Practically all the correspondence, however, never reaches the fundamentals of the situation. The fundamental policy of the Labour Party is full employment. The major industry to ensure full employment is the so-called defence (?) preparations, and as long as this silly waste can be maintained many other industries and trades thrive whatever the private thoughts and opinions of the Labour Party's members are, they must have full employment as a first claim issue, and up to now as far as I know no one in the party, or any party, has the brains or the courage to suggest a way of making the living standards of the working classes equal under a really peace-time condition.

Here is an actual picture of how this preparation for "defence" actually works. For some years I used to visit a sleepy village in East Yorkshire on business. The usual sleepy village, the church, the pub, a couple of little shops and a few cottages. Then in 1957 I retired, but later on in 1958 I returned on a personal visit. What a change! The village pub sells more beer in one night than they did in a week or more. The shops all decked out with goods and doing splendidly, thank you! A missile base in the process of being built,

All anti-conscriptionists should be on the alert at this time. Contact your MP and indicate that you are unwilling to substitute one evil by another, which is precisely what this (strongly supported) proposal means.

This matter will be fully discussed at the Annual General Meeting of the No Conscription Council at Peace News on Wednesday, June 1, from 6.30 p.m.

All PN readers are cordially invited to be present.—**L. J. CUMMING, Sec. No Conscription Council, 374 Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1.**

## Pax Group

**F**OLLOWING Mr. Eccles's letter (PN, May 20) there is already a Pax Group here in Birmingham. Catholics or others interested should write to me. On June 1 there will be a talk by Canon F. H. Drinkwater.—**BRIAN WICKER, 304 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.**

More letters on page two.

## Briefly

Another French demonstration against the arbitrary internment camps set up in connection with the Algerian War is to be held tomorrow (Saturday) by "Action Civique Non-violente."

**Plaid Cymru**, the Welsh Party, will hold its annual conference and summer school in Cardiff from July 29-August 2.



**Sign of the times—in South Africa.** This picture of African children rifling rubbish bins is a common sight says the current quarterly, Oxfam Bulletin (organ of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, 17 Broad St., Oxford), which features a number of Oxfam's projects for relieving distress around the world.

## Resistance to apartheid grows

### PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**T**HE movement against apartheid is gathering strength in several countries.

In Sweden a 500-strong torchlight procession marched through Stockholm's streets on April 29 in protest against "the brutal racial oppression which is practised by the Verwoerd Government." The march was organised by the new Action Group Against Racial Oppression, which was initiated by World Citizens Movement in Stockholm.

In a leaflet, 10,000 of which have been distributed, the group calls upon the Swedish Government to support an extended boycott of South African goods, and to recall their Ambassador from Pretoria until the South African Government

In Britain the Anti-Apartheid Committee recently announced its plans for the future. These include:

1. An intensification of the boycott of South African goods.
2. A campaign to press the United Nations to call for economic sanctions against South Africa.
3. A cultural and sports boycott of South Africa.
4. A drive to raise funds for the Aid and Defence Fund administered by Christian Action.
5. An international campaign for the ending of oil and arms shipments to South Africa and a withdrawal of landing facilities for South African aircraft.
6. The exertion of pressure on the British Government to take the initiative

for Unconditional Nuclear Disarmament universal by way of unilateral by each. That is the essence and only strength of our demand and our movement.—**GERALD PETCH**, 22 Lanchester Rd, London, N.6.

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## Conscription

THERE are disquieting signs that the one struggle which we pacifists felt had been brought to a victorious conclusion may not be won after all. I refer to conscription.

The position at the moment is that the power to call up ends on Dec. 31 this year, with the last conscript leaving the Forces some time in 1962. The Government has indicated that it does not intend to seek any extension of "national service" after 1960 provided that the voluntary system produces the required numbers. The latest figures indicate that it is very doubtful whether this aim will be realised.

Messrs. Crossman and Wigg, in the course of a joint article in the *New Statesman* of May 14, condemn the present military strategy of the Government and express the opinion that "some form of selective service will have to be considered."

For some time I have urged that the only remaining threat to the ending of conscription lay in a decision to end the policy of the independent nuclear deterrent in the hands of Britain and, instead, to rely upon the USA in this matter whilst, at the same time, offering a greater British contribution in terms of "conventional" forces as a quid pro quo within the NATO alliance.

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In a leaflet, 10,000 of which have been distributed, the group calls upon the Swedish Government to support an extended boycott of South African goods, and to recall their Ambassador from Pretoria until the South African Government changes its apartheid policy.

The secretary of the group, Aina Larsson, was in Britain over Easter to join the Aldermaston March.

In Australia the Federal Parliamentary Labour Party decided on May 4 to support the two-month boycott of South African goods initiated by the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

In the United States the American Committee on Africa has made a special appeal through an African Aid and Defence Fund for funds to help the dependants of Sharpeville victims and those imprisoned for their opposition to apartheid.

## UNCIVILISED—IF YOU'RE AFRICAN

From Basil Delaine

Johannesburg.

AFRICANS in the clothing industry in South Africa are officially classified as "uncivilised."

This classification is made on Customs form 230, a form mainly used in the clothing industry when firms apply for permission to manufacture under rebate.

On the form Whites are given a section to themselves. Non-Whites split into two categories: civilised (Afrikaans Beskaaf) and uncivilised (Onbeskaaf).

Manufacturers here who asked Customs officials for clarification say they have been told "civilised" means Coloured and "uncivilised" means Africans.

I understand many Whites in industry object strongly to the use of "uncivilised" to describe African operatives, many of whom are skilled.

recently announced its plans for the future. These include:

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5. An international campaign for the ending of oil and arms shipments to South Africa and a withdrawal of landing facilities for South African aircraft.
6. The exertion of pressure on the British Government to take the initiative in the United Nations to ensure that South West Africa be administered strictly in accordance with the UN mandate.

The London Students' Anti-Apartheid Committee is at present trying to establish an International Students' Movement Against Apartheid. It is also working with an association of jazz groups to raise money for scholarships in British universities for Africans from South Africa.

The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination in Sport is currently getting signatures to a petition regretting that the Marylebone Cricket Club should seem to condone the application of the principle of apartheid in sport, and urging the MCC not to support tours conducted on such a basis. Petition forms are available from the Cricket Petition Organiser, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4.

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## The case of Caryl Chessman—II

**THE SENTENCE-BARBARIC SADISM**

**By HARRY ELMER BARNES**

*This is the second of three articles by American sociologist and historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, on the case of Caryl Chessman, who was executed in the gas chamber of San Quentin Prison, California, on May 2.*

NOT a single item in the prosecution evidence against Chessman would have stood up under the tests of really scientific criminalistics—the accepted crime detection techniques—if properly administered.

The identifications of Chessman by the two women victims were "rigged," improperly carried out and, even so, contradictory and unconvincing. Further, when properly administered, experts in criminalistics regard routine identifications as perhaps the least reliable type of evidence of guilt, especially when physical violence or great emotional excitement is involved. Further, the Red Light Bandit's crimes were committed in the dark or under very imperfect lighting.

On the other hand, Chessman had what are still regarded by his honest and reputable legal adviser, Alan Matthews, as impregnable alibis which the prosecution was unable to destroy. But these were blandly ignored by Judge Fricke, the prosecutor, and the jury and, it may be observed, by the majority of the California Supreme Court in reviewing the case.

### **ILLOGICAL LEGALITIES**

The sentence was probably the worst travesty connected with the trial, or even the case as a whole. In the hysteria following the dastardly kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby in March, 1932, the Federal Government passed what came to be called the "Lindbergh Law" making kidnapping a capital crime. Many states followed suit and passed what were known as "Little Lindbergh Laws."

Of these, that of California actually came close to approaching the lunatic fringe. It defined kidnapping as merely detaining or moving anyone, however briefly or slightly. If the detention or moving was for robbery

and the Governor, but the fundamental unfairness was Judge Fricke's sentence. But for this item of barbaric sadism there could not have been any judicial lynching party or any fatal gubernatorial evasiveness.

The appeal from the verdict and sentence in the trial involved a situation so incredible as almost to amount to a burlesque. The court reporter at the trial was senile and weak. Near the end of each day, his notes became so inadequate and unreadable that it was impossible in some instances for him to transcribe them accurately himself. He died shortly after the trial when he had

reliable transcript from the original notes, and that the one prepared by the alcoholic reporter was pathetically unreliable. Even the chief expert for the state reported that she found over 2,000 errors in just a sampling of the transcript, and estimated that a full list of errors would make a book as large as *GONE WITH THE WIND*, a volume of nearly 1,000 pages.

But Judge Evans, after noting some errors in the transcript, amazingly approved it and handed it on to the Supreme Court, which accepted it and denied Chessman a new trial. It is believed that if Judge Evans had rejected the synthetic transcript, as compiled by the alcoholic reporter, a new trial would have been ordered and might have resulted in clearing Chessman.

It would seem that Judge Evans did not dare face the public clamour which would



**Only a few days to live—Caryl Chessman (centre) talks to lawyer George Davis and woman solicitor Rosalie Asher.**

transcribed only about one-third of his total notes.

In civil cases in California, it is mandatory to order a new trial if the court reporter dies before he has finished, or substantially finished, transcribing the notes of the original trial. Characteristic of much American law which has been developed

have resulted if he could be held to be the man who, even indirectly, permitted Chessman to gain freedom.

Chessman has been attacked by the press and by the lynching mob in general, from the bench to the kitchen sink and gutter, for seeking to delay his execution by appeals to the courts. Even Justice William

to death only on the ninth date with the gas chamber.

It has been suggested in some quarters that the case was so complicated that it took the California courts twelve years to arrive at its solution. Nothing could be further from the truth. The majority of the State Supreme Court had apparently decided to back up Judge Fricke before even Chessman's automatic appeal came before them for consideration.

The bitterness of the opposition of the State Supreme Court to any new trial reached its apex at the very end when the evidence of Chessman's possible innocence was becoming most impressive. The judges appeared to be panicky lest the new evidence might upset the state's case and the programme for a judicial lynching.

The majority of the Supreme Court seemed determined to get Chessman into the gas chamber before this new evidence could be properly considered and weighed. If it has any validity, it will be produced, and, if it proves decisive, the four judges who opposed clemency will have to face the obloquy and odium which will inevitably follow any definitive demonstration of Chessman's innocence.

The courts for the Attorney-General of California would neither pay any attention to Chessman's repeated offers to submit to a lie-detector test nor run down any leads that he suggested as to the identity of the real Red Light Bandit.

Their contention that they were upholding the law in sending Chessman to the gas chamber is exposed for its shallowness and hypocrisy when one recalls that three members of the State Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice, favoured clemency, as had the last Federal judge who heard Chessman's final comprehensive appeal. If Chessman was trying to beat the law, so were these four distinguished jurists who recommended clemency.

Perhaps the worst indictment of the courts which reviewed the case is that none of them appear to have gone into the preposterous and essentially illegal nature of Judge Fricke's sentence at the trial. Even though Chessman is never proved innocent, the fact that the courts did not consider in rigorous detail the truly sadistic and really illegal nature of the sentence is a terrible

## LEGALITIES

The sentence was probably the worst travesty connected with the trial, or even the case as a whole. In the hysteria following the dastardly kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby in March, 1932, the Federal Government passed what came to be called the "Lindbergh Law" making kidnapping a capital crime. Many states followed suit and passed what were known as "Little Lindbergh Laws."

Of these, that of California actually came close to approaching the lunatic fringe. It defined kidnapping as merely detaining or moving anyone, however briefly or slightly. If the detention or moving was for robbery or caused bodily harm, it was to be regarded as a capital crime receiving the death sentence. Detention or moving for sexual acts was not defined as a capital crime.

The robbery involved in the two Red Light Bandit crimes of which Chessman was accused, convicted and ultimately executed amounted to only \$15—taken in the first of the two crimes. In the case of the second offence, the parties insisted that they had no money and the Bandit let it go at that.

It was on the basis of this absurd and illogical—even illegal—technicality that Judge Fricke imposed the death penalty on Chessman. Actually, the Bandit, whoever he was, did not detain or move anybody for robbery, since he only approached and robbed a parked car. With respect to the sexual crimes, the Bandit merely moved the women from their parked cars to his car that was parked behind them. There was no bodily harm.

## VINDICTIVE

In order further to show his vindictiveness and hatred toward Chessman, Judge Fricke, in addition to the death sentence, imposed prison sentences amounting to about three natural lifetimes on Chessman for the robberies with which he was charged and for which the evidence of guilt was as tenuous and dubious as that which was produced to support guilt in relation to the Red Light Bandit crimes.

Some of my friends who have been very bitter about the execution of Chessman have said that what especially outrages them was its unfairness, even granting that Chessman was guilty. Most of them blame the majority of the State Supreme Court



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In civil cases in California, it is mandatory to order a new trial if the court reporter dies before he has finished, or substantially finished, transcribing the notes of the original trial. Characteristic of much American law, which places property ahead of life among the "natural rights of man," no such provision was made in the case of a criminal trial.

A number of competent and honest court reporters were called in by Judge Fricke to see if they would agree to take the dead reporter's notes and complete the transcript. Not a single one of these would accept the responsibility.

Some declared that the reporter's notes were so poor and incomplete that nobody, however well trained, could make a reliable transcript from them; others refused because they did not wish to take the responsibility for so difficult and dubious an assignment. Finally, the prosecutor brought in his wife's uncle, who was a court reporter of some experience but was also a chronic alcoholic who continued drinking heavily during the time he assumed to prepare the transcript from the dead reporter's notes.

Where even he admitted he could not make out the notes, he consulted the judge and prosecutor for advice. This means that the additions and substitutions in the transcript were invariably favourable to the prosecution. Chessman was not allowed to be present to examine and protest this synthetic transcript. Judge Fricke certified it to the Supreme Court as an accurate and adequate record of the trial to serve as the basis for considering Chessman's appeal.

Chessman protested, but it required seven years to get the question of the transcript reconsidered, and this only on an order from the Supreme Court of the United States in 1957. Judge Walter Evans conducted the investigation of the transcript in a spirit of admirable formal fairness.

One expert after another testified to the fact that nobody could have prepared a

transcript only about one-third of his total notes.

have resulted if he could be held to be the man who, even indirectly, permitted Chessman to gain freedom.

Chessman has been attacked by the press

and by the lynching mob in general, from the bench to the kitchen sink and gutter,

for seeking to delay his execution by appeals to the courts. Even Justice William A. Douglass of the United States Supreme Court has accused Chessman of "playing a game with the courts."

It would seem strange to an unbiased commentator that a man should be condemned for seeking to save his life, and appeals to the courts provided the only manner in which he could do this. If he played a game with the courts, that was the only game he could play. It is also a fact that the courts only play a game—that of reviewing the formalities of the case—checking up on what may fairly be called courtroom etiquette and judicial ritual. Except in the most flagrant cases of "railroading" or the undoubtedly production of a guilty party other than the defendant, the courts rarely examine any factual evidence as to guilt or innocence.

## APPEALS

There is no space here to recount the numerous appeals. In all, Chessman made 45 appeals: two to the Superior Court of Marion County, California; one to the Appellate Court of California; 13 to the California Supreme Court; seven to the United States District court; five to the United States Court of Appeals, and 17 to the United States Supreme Court. Chessman's final appeal to the United States Supreme Court in late April, 1960, was the seventeenth time he had approached that august body, and never once did that court even remotely consider his guilt or innocence.

The same may be said of the state courts, which bitterly fought any attempt to give Chessman a new trial in which he might have had at least a fair chance to prove his innocence. He was able to fight off some eight definite execution dates and was put

ing the law in sending Chessman to the gas chamber is exposed for its shallowness and hypocrisy when one recalls that three members of the State Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice, favoured clemency, as had the last Federal judge who heard Chessman's final comprehensive appeal. If Chessman was trying to beat the law, so were these four distinguished jurists who recommended clemency.

Perhaps the worst indictment of the courts which reviewed the case is that none of them appear to have gone into the preposterous and essentially illegal nature of Judge Fricke's sentence at the trial. Even though Chessman is never proved innocent, the fact that the courts did not consider in rigorous detail the truly sadistic and really illegal sentence imposed will be a blot on their escutcheon which time can never erase.

## UPHOLDING LAW?

It is obvious to any dispassionate student of the Chessman case that the California courts were never really interested in upholding the law during the appeals, but were concerned with protecting the judicial record of Judge Fricke which many informed persons regard as actually a disgrace to any civilised society.

If any readers think that I am using shocking terms and language in describing the behaviour of the California judges who railroaded Chessman to the gas chamber, I may say that I am only putting into non-technical language the essentials and implications of the dissenting opinions of two of the most distinguished members of the California Supreme Court, to say nothing of opinions I have heard personally expressed by superbly able California lawyers not connected with Chessman's defence.

So far as the attitude of Governor Brown on the Chessman case is concerned, it was schizoid, disingenuous, evasive and contradictory from the beginning. There is no doubt that he sincerely believes in the desirability of abolishing capital punishment and would like to see this accomplished, now that Chessman has been done away with. At the same time, it appears equally certain that he wished to see Chessman executed.

This desire stemmed in part from the fact that as the state Attorney-General for years who presented the case against Chessman's appeals for justice he both felt it his duty to bring about the execution and was

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Progress report on African freedom,  
by Fenner Brockway, MP, Chairman of the  
Movement for Colonial Freedom

# IT WAS THE SOLDIERS WHO WENT AWAY

**NIGERIA:** I was glad to hear the assurance that there are to be no British Bases in the new Nigeria, which achieves independence in October.

Foreign bases can be a deep source of trouble, as Cyprus and Trinidad are showing. Much better that an independent nation should be free to negotiate any defence arrangements without commitments over a long period of years.

Among the delegates who come to London, Dr. Azikiwe deserves special recognition for his part in hewing the road to independence. Over the years he has been the most consistent, courageous and constructive influence for Nigerian unity and freedom.



**THE FRENCH COLONIES:** Guinea from the first rejected the French Community. Now practically all the colonies in the Community are claiming independence and the French Senate has passed legislation giving them this right. The Community becomes more like the Commonwealth.

The new independent States will be the Mali Federation (Senegal and French Sudan), the Equatorial Union (French Congo, the Central African Union, and Chad), Gabon and Madagascar.

The process cannot end here. Hesitant Dahomey will decide, and the group of States headed by the Ivory Coast, associated in the *Conseil de l'Entente*, will move towards independence, despite the long allegiance to France of M. Houphouet-Boigny. Thus, except for Algeria and isolated enclaves (Gambia, Portuguese Guinea and Spanish Sahara), the whole of Africa north of Angola on the West and Uganda on the East will almost certainly be politically free by the end of next year.



**THE BELGIAN CONGO:** Elections in the critical North-East Region spreading from Stanleyville have passed without the violence feared. Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the National Movement, appears to have swept these elections.

Congolese troops waved to Lumumba's party and cheered as they departed.

The second African leader rising to mass influence in the dying days of the Belgian Congo is M. Kasavubu, head of the Abako Party, strong in Leopoldville and the Coast. He also is demanding a provisional Government.

Lumumba and Kasavubu represent two tendencies in Belgian Congo. The former stands for a unitary State, the latter urges tribal autonomy. If they can agree on the degree of autonomy within a federation, a peaceful solution should be found.



**KENYA:** Both Nairobi and London are shortsighted in refusing to release Jomo Kenyatta, newly-elected President of the Kenya National Union.

There was a great doubt about his trial. He was in prison long before the worst violences and atrocities of Mau Mau developed and could not have had responsibility for them. There is a simple answer to the argument that the "loyalist" Kikuyu would be in danger if he were released. Only the "loyalist" Kikuyu were allowed to vote at the last election when the African Members now demanding his liberation were returned. No one in the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes could vote without a certificate of loyalty from the British District Officer. They defeated the "moderate" Africans. They elected the Kenyatta champions.



**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Macleod has angered the Africans by saying no constitutional changes this year. He has angered the Europeans by not ruling out next year.

The tension is seen in the Queen Mother's tour. She was to have visited a multi-racial youth rally at Mufilira. The European parents refused to allow their children to attend with African children. At the garden party given to the Queen

PEACE NEWS, May 27, 1960—7

# Caryl Chessman

## case

### ● FROM PAGE SIX

annoyed by Chessman's increasing legal acumen as demonstrated in his successive brief in his defence and by Chessman's refusal to ask for clemency and thus imply guilt.

Even more powerful in its effect on the Governor was the alarming growth in the extent and savagery of the mob clamour for Chessman's execution as demonstrated by the public reaction to the stay of October, 1959, and the reprieve of February, 1960. That the Governor has robust political ambitions is well known, understandable, and legitimate, and it might have been political suicide for him to have commuted Chessman's sentence to life imprisonment, although this would have been an atrociously severe sentence for the crimes with which he was charged, even if guilty. It is known that the Governor's pardon secretary was opposed to clemency and so advised the Governor.

How well Governor Brown's determination to execute Chessman will serve his political ambitions remains to be seen. It will surely prevent him from ever going down in California history as a statesman. It may even boomerang on him in lesser political ambitions as scorn is heaped on California from the outside world. If it should turn out that Chessman's innocence is proved, his political career will be finished with the end of his present term.

Even smart politics would seem to have dictated clemency and commutation, which was easily within his power. He would have then been protected, no matter what the future developments in the Chessman case. The gas chamber was final and from now on one of the two exits is closed. The gambling dice are loaded.

# PASSING THE BUCK

The effort of the Governor to pass the buck to the state legislature by calling a session to abolish the death penalty was palpably "phoney" to anybody well informed in state affairs. It had been well known that the main reason why the legislature would not so act in previous sessions was the public clamour to gas Chessman before the publication of the death penalty.

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States headed by the Ivory Coast, associated in the *Conseil de l'Entente*, will move towards independence, despite the long allegiance to France of M. Houphouet-Boigny. Thus, except for Algeria and isolated enclaves (Gambia, Portuguese Guinea and Spanish Sahara), the whole of Africa north of Angola on the West and Uganda on the East will almost certainly be politically free by the end of next year.



**THE BELGIAN CONGO:** Elections in the critical North-East Region spreading from Stanleyville have passed without the violence feared. Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the National Movement, appears to have swept these elections. He is urging the establishment of a provisional Government, even before June 30 when the Congo is dated for independence, to resist official pressure in favour of pro-Belgian candidates and to demand that the Belgian troops leave.

I like the story of an incident when Lumumba got the better of the troops. A Belgian officer and a truck load of armed Congolese soldiers tried to break up a meeting held in defiance of an order prohibiting gatherings of more than five persons. Speaking through a megaphone the officer ordered the crowd to disperse. Lumumba, reading newspapers in his car, picked up his own megaphone and told the troops to go home. After a moment of hesitation they clambered back into the lorry with their rifles and the Belgian officer shrugged his shoulders and drove off. The

were returned. No one in the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes could vote without a certificate of loyalty from the British District Officer. They defeated the "moderate" Africans. They elected the Kenyatta champions.



**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Macleod has angered the Africans by saying no constitutional changes this year. He has angered the Europeans by not ruling out next year.

The tension is seen in the Queen Mother's tour. She was to have visited a multi-racial youth rally at Mufilira. The European parents refused to allow their children to attend with African children. At the garden party given to the Queen Mother 100 African guests had to sit at separate tables. "The Whites (600) acted as if they did not notice them," says the *News Chronicle*.

I pay a reverent tribute to Mrs. Burton who was burned to death in Northern Rhodesia when Africans set alight her car. She pleaded in hospital that nothing should be said to worsen race relations. I pay tribute to her husband who, when he arrived at London Airport with his daughters, declined to condemn Africans. I pay tribute to Kenneth Kaunda, the African leader, who denounced African violence and expressed his sorrow to Mr. Burton.

In common humanity a solution for Northern Rhodesia could still be found.

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Wednesday, June 1

**LONDON, N.1:** 6.30 p.m. PN Office, 5 Caledonian Rd. AGM. Refreshments, All welcome. No Consecration Council.

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 7.30 p.m. 72 Oakley Square. Frank Judd, "Voluntary Organisations in the Welfare State." IVS.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall. Judith Hart, MP, Sheldon Williams, Susan Escott, Ian Dixon, Roy Hewitt (Chair). Westminster CND.

Thursday, June 2

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., "Sino-Indian Boundary Question." Edith Adlam. Leytonstone PPU.

Saturday, June 4

**BRIDGWATER:** 2.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House. Area meeting FoR groups and friends. Leonard Hurst on "War and Hunger." Bridgwater Peace Group.

Thursday, June 9

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., "Income Tax and War." Douglas Clark. Leytonstone PPU.

Friday, June 10

**BRISTOL:** 7.30 p.m. Lillian Dunning's, 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze. "The PPU and the sixties." Issa Preuss, Will Parkin. PPU.

**LONDON, S.W.11:** 7.30 p.m. The Town Hall, Battersea, Dance; tickets 3s. 6d., dble. 6s., from IVS, 72 Oakley Square, N.W.1.

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## PASSING THE BUCK

The effort of the Governor to pass the buck to the state legislature by calling a session to abolish the death penalty was palpably "phoney" to anybody well informed in state affairs. It had been well known that the main reason why the legislature would not so act in previous sessions was the public clamour to gas Chessman before any abolition of the death penalty, or even a moratorium on it, could be enacted.

Most cogent of all is the fact that if the Chessman case had ever been honestly examined, it would immediately have appeared that a death sentence should never have been imposed on Chessman, even if guilty as charged. The death sentence in this case was the most debasing and degrading legal item in the whole sordid case. Nobody was killed or even seriously harmed.

The final and most crucial example of gubernatorial disingenuity was his claim that he was powerless after a majority of the State Supreme Court voted against clemency. As a matter of fact, he had every right and authority to ask the court to permit him to extend clemency, and there has never been a case in state history when the court has refused such a request from a Governor.

Chessman's blood is on the hands of the Governor if more of it is on the heads of the majority of the state Supreme Court, especially Hon. Thomas P. White, the one member of the majority long known for his liberal and humanitarian views on public affairs and from whom some enlightenment, fairmindedness and humane sentiments might have been expected. The Governor placed a serious stumbling-block in his own way when he repeatedly declared that there was no doubt about Chessman's guilt. If he really believed this, it was evidence of serious irresponsibility on his part during his long years of handling the case as Attorney-General. Being a man of above average intelligence, even a month of careful study of the case would inevitably have convinced him that there was little except doubt concerning Chessman's guilt.

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## 'Back NATO' plea wins

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

BRITAIN'S third largest union, the 750,000-strong General and Municipal Workers, decided on Tuesday to support the Labour Party's defence policy.

The following day the international committees of the Labour Party and the TUC met to frame their new policy.

By a substantial majority, on a show of hands, the Union's annual conference voted for its Executive's vaguely-worded resolution asking the Labour Party to keep policy "appropriate" to the situation. This was the Executive's answer to a demand for unilateral action to help break down the arms race.

The previous day the leadership had called in Mr. Gaitskell to make to the Union a major speech demanding support for NATO. Both Mr. Gaitskell and the Union's secretary, Sir Thomas Williamson, adopted the most severe language of the cold war. The seconder of the motion contrasted the Aldermaston march with the support in Moscow for the May Day parade of rockets.

Last Friday the Union of Post Office Workers also rejected unilateral action and decided to support official Labour policy. The majority—at the Union's annual conference—was more than two to one.

The National Union of Agricultural Workers at their conference on May 19 remitted to its Executive by 80 votes to 60 a resolution calling upon the Government to adopt unilateral nuclear disarmament and to seek an international agreement for total disarmament.



**Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell, who has been showing himself a passionate supporter of NATO politics.**

## Foulness prisoners get support

By IAN DIXON

TELEGRAMS were sent last Saturday to the four prisons where those arrested for their part in the non-violent civil rights demonstration

# 17,500 AT CRISIS RALLY IN NEW YORK

THE UNANIMITY WITH WHICH TOP-LEVEL U.S. OPINION FIRST DEFENDED THE MONSTROUS AMERICAN CONDUCT IN THE SPY FLIGHT CASE AND THEN PLACED BLAME FOR THE SUMMIT COLLAPSE 100 PER CENT ON KHRUSHCHEV IS A SAD COMMENTARY ON EXERCISE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN A DEMOCRACY.

With hardly any exceptions, newspaper reporters and columnists, TV and radio commentators joined the chorus of Republican and Democratic politicians.

This phoney, bi-partisan political unity was healthily broken on May 19 by Adlai Stevenson, 1952 and 1956 Democratic presidential candidate, when he said: "We handed Khrushchev the crowbar and sledge hammer to wreck the summit meeting.

"We sent an espionage plane deep into the Soviet Union just before the summit meeting. Then we denied it. Then we admitted it. And when Mr. Khrushchev gave the President a way out by suggesting that he was not responsible, the President proudly asserted that he was responsible."

"On top of that we intimated that such espionage flights over Russia would continue. (At this point if Khrushchev did not protest he would be condoning our right to spy—and how long could he keep his job that way?) Next we reconsidered and called off the flights.

## BOILING POINT

"But to compound the incredible, we postponed the announcement that the flights were terminated—just long enough to make it seem we were yielding to pressure, but too long to prevent Mr. Khrushchev from reaching boiling point. And as if this wasn't enough, on Sunday night when there was still a chance that de Gaulle and Macmillan could save the situation, we ordered a world-wide alert of our combat forces!"

"Is it reasonable for suspicious Russians to think such a series of mistakes could only be a deliberate effort to break up a conference we never wanted anyway?"

This speech gives a telling summary of the US role. It also constitutes the first official break in the bi-partisan conspiracy



## LETTER FROM AMERICA

By Jim Peck

clique has concentrated its fire on the Geneva negotiations to end nuclear tests. A couple of weeks prior to the summit crisis, Marquis Childs wrote in the *New York Post*: "The opponents of a nuclear test agreement are doing their very best to try to ensure that if a treaty is submitted to the Senate it will either be strangled in committee or defeated on the floor. The lengths to which they have gone are quite extraordinary."

"The danger is that if the US comes back with more and more objections and finally the treaty is not ratified the opportunity will be lost. Then, quite conceivably, Moscow could revert to the Stalinist line and the competition in arms would go on to ultimate disaster. It sometimes seems that the bitter-end foes want just this to happen."

## Rose Robinson released

U.S. Tax-refuser, Rose Robinson, was released last Friday from Alderson, W. Virginia, Federal Prison after fasting. The judge at Chicago reduced her sentence because she had been punished enough and was a burden for prison medical facilities.

adopted the most forcible language of the cold war. The seconder of the motion contrasted the Aldermaston march with the support in Moscow for the May Day parade of rockets.

Last Friday the Union of Post Office Workers also rejected unilateral action and decided to support official Labour policy. The majority—at the Union's annual conference—was more than two to one.

The National Union of Agricultural Workers at their conference on May 19 remitted to its Executive by 80 votes to 60 a resolution calling upon the Government to adopt unilateral nuclear disarmament and to seek an international agreement for total disarmament.

## LPF again demands unarmed defence

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**CONCERN** at the possibility that unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb by Britain might be offset by a decision to make a greater contribution to Nato's conventional forces was expressed in a resolution passed at the Labour Peace Fellowship's recent AGM.

Fearing that this might lead in turn to a continuation of conscription, the LPF reaffirmed its uncompromising opposition to military service and called for "constant vigilance by all socialists and peace lovers."

Another resolution, calling for "a real lead by Britain," said that a new Labour defence policy should include: unilateral action on nuclear policies, a planned reduction of all other weapons and "the pioneering of a policy to end the cold war."

The LPF called upon the Labour Party to recognise that modern armaments could no longer be relied upon as a means of defence.

"We believe that serious examination should be made of non-violent means of resistance for a socialism based on the brotherhood of man cannot be reconciled with reliance on weapons of extermination or the continued waste of resources on war preparations when two-thirds of mankind still endure poverty of the most appalling kind."

Leslie Hale, MP, was re-elected Chairman and Frank Allaun, MP, Vice-Chairman. Denis Brian (24a Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4) continues as General Secretary.

**Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell, who has been showing himself a passionate supporter of NATO politics.**

## Foulness prisoners get support

By IAN DIXON

TELEGRAMS were sent last Saturday to the four prisons where those arrested for their part in the non-violent civil disobedience demonstration at Foulness Atomic Weapons Research Establishment on May 2 are being held.

The telegrams read: "KEEPING YOU IN THE PUBLIC EYE. GREETINGS FROM THE FIRST OF YOUR POSTER PARADES."

They were signed by 27 people on behalf of all those who paraded through London in the morning from Marble Arch to King's Cross in sympathy with the demonstrators and what they did at Foulness.

The parade was organised by the Foulness Prisoners' Committee, which exists to ensure that the stand made by the Foulness demonstrators is publicised and the reasons for their action are brought before the public.

After the parade demonstrators gathered in *Peace News* meeting room to hear latest news of the prisoners. A collection of nearly £7 was taken for the Relief Fund and the cost of telegrams.

The next of several marches is planned for June 18.

● In the House of Commons the Home Secretary refused on May 12 to consider amending legislation so as to ensure that prison sentences are not imposed on people charged with "minor acts of civil disobedience." A week later he told the House that the estimated cost of the Foulness demonstrators' imprisonment was "about £1,000."

But to compound the incredible, we postponed the announcement that the flights were terminated—just long enough to make it seem we were yielding to pressure, but too long to prevent Mr. Khrushchev from reaching boiling point. And as if this wasn't enough, on Sunday night when there was still a chance that de Gaulle and Macmillan could save the situation, we ordered a world-wide alert of our combat forces!

"Is it reasonable for suspicious Russians to think such a series of mistakes could only be a deliberate effort to break up a conference we never wanted anyway?"

This speech gives a telling summary of the US role. It also constitutes the first official break in the bi-partisan conspiracy of self-righteousness and opens the whole affair to political debate. Stevenson had been scheduled to speak the same day—along with Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, Norman Thomas, and other notables—at a mass rally of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He was unable to be there, but sent a message of support.

The overflow attendance at the rally indicates considerable anti-war sentiment over here despite the recent incitements to hysteria and the general American apathy to social issues. Madison Square Garden, New York's biggest arena with a capacity of 17,500, had been sold out before the summit crisis. But during the two days in between the crisis and the meeting date, the demand for tickets rose sharply. The overflow crowd listened to the speeches over a loudspeaker in an adjoining street.

## MIDNIGHT WALK

At the conclusion of the rally, although it was almost midnight, over 5,000 persons walked a mile and a half from Madison Square Garden to the United Nations for a brief period of silence and prayer for peace.

The identity of the US Government and (or) military officials responsible for the spying flight, doubtless, will not come to light in the near future. But it can be stated with certitude—and this Stevenson failed to say—that the guilty parties belong to the Pentagon clique which consistently has been torpedoing every effort toward a peaceful solution of world problems. Of course, this clique has its counterpart (which is also rejoicing over the summit collapse) in the Soviet Union.

Here in the US the military-minded

back with more and more objections and finally the treaty is not ratified the opportunity will be lost. Then, quite conceivably, Moscow could revert to the Stalinist line and the competition in arms would go on to ultimate disaster. It sometimes seems that the bitter-end foes want just this to happen."

## Rose Robinson released

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Ten sit-downers met her and all broke their fast together. She is thin and hungry but in apparent good health. (See PN, May 13 for background story).

Mrs. Margaret Saddler—wife of Jack Saddler, Powden, Dyker Village, Newcastle-on-Tyne—passed away suddenly Saturday, May 21.

## PACIFISM AFTER THE BOMB

*At the War Resisters' International Study Conference young pacifists from several countries are going to subject pacifism to a thorough-going overhaul. They will look at the past and plan for the future. If you feel that this sort of re-examination is worth while why not come along and put your point of view? You are not going to be lectured and so the success of this interesting occasion will depend on each individual person as well as the discussion leaders.*

*The WRI sessions will be held each morning and those of the PPU Summer Holiday Conference each evening.*

*All will be welcome at Clyne Castle on the Gower Peninsula in South Wales from August 13-20. Camping facilities are available.*

*Further enquiries to:*

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